

U.S. Department of Justice

Washington, DC 20530

Exhibit A to Registration Statement**Pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended**

INSTRUCTIONS. Furnish this exhibit for EACH foreign principal listed in an initial statement and for EACH additional foreign principal acquired subsequently. The filing of this document requires the payment of a filing fee as set forth in Rule (d)(1), 28 C.F.R. § 5.5(d)(1). Compliance is accomplished by filing an electronic Exhibit A form at <https://www.fara.gov>.

Privacy Act Statement. The filing of this document is required by the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, 22 U.S.C. § 611 *et seq.*, for the purposes of registration under the Act and public disclosure. Provision of the information requested is mandatory, and failure to provide this information is subject to the penalty and enforcement provisions established in Section 8 of the Act. Every registration statement, short form registration statement, supplemental statement, exhibit, amendment, copy of informational materials or other document or information filed with the Attorney General under this Act is a public record open to public examination, inspection and copying during the posted business hours of the FARA Unit in Washington, DC. Statements are also available online at the FARA Unit's webpage: <https://www.fara.gov>. One copy of every such document, other than informational materials, is automatically provided to the Secretary of State pursuant to Section 6(b) of the Act, and copies of any and all documents are routinely made available to other agencies, departments and Congress pursuant to Section 6(c) of the Act. The Attorney General also transmits a semi-annual report to Congress on the administration of the Act which lists the names of all agents registered under the Act and the foreign principals they represent. This report is available to the public in print and online at: <https://www.fara.gov>.

Public Reporting Burden. Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average .22 hours per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden to Chief, FARA Unit, Counterintelligence and Export Control Section, National Security Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC 20530; and to the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, Office of Management and Budget, Washington, DC 20503.

1. Name of Registrant Ms. Christina Pushaw	2. Registration Number 7122
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3. Primary Address of Registrant 400 S Monroe St, Tallahassee, FL 32399
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4. Name of Foreign Principal Mr. Mikheil Saakashvili	5. Address of Foreign Principal 149 Vatutina Street, Lisnyky Kyiv, Kyiv Oblast UKRAINE 08172
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6. Country/Region Represented GEORGIA
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7. Indicate whether the foreign principal is one of the following: <input type="checkbox"/> Government of a foreign country ¹ <input type="checkbox"/> Foreign political party <input type="checkbox"/> Foreign or domestic organization: If either, check one of the following: <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between;"> <div> <input type="checkbox"/> Partnership <input type="checkbox"/> Corporation <input type="checkbox"/> Association </div> <div> <input type="checkbox"/> Committee <input type="checkbox"/> Voluntary group <input type="checkbox"/> Other (<i>specify</i>) _____ </div> </div> <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Individual-State nationality <u>UKRAINE</u>
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8. If the foreign principal is a foreign government, state: a) Branch or agency represented by the registrant b) Name and title of official with whom registrant engages
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¹ "Government of a foreign country," as defined in Section 1(e) of the Act, includes any person or group of persons exercising sovereign de facto or de jure political jurisdiction over any country, other than the United States, or over any part of such country, and includes any subdivision of any such group and any group or agency to which such sovereign de facto or de jure authority or functions are directly or indirectly delegated. Such term shall include any faction or body of insurgents within a country assuming to exercise governmental authority whether such faction or body of insurgents has or has not been recognized by the United States.

9. If the foreign principal is a foreign political party, state:

- a) Name and title of official with whom registrant engages
- b) Aim, mission or objective of foreign political party

10. If the foreign principal is not a foreign government or a foreign political party:

- a) State the nature of the business or activity of this foreign principal.

See Appendix for Response

- b) Is this foreign principal:

Supervised by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal	Yes <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>
Owned by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Directed by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Controlled by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Financed by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Subsidized in part by a foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

11. Explain fully all items answered "Yes" in Item 10(b).

See Appendix for Response

12. If the foreign principal is an organization and is not owned or controlled by a foreign government, foreign political party or other foreign principal, state who owns and controls it.

EXECUTION

In accordance with 28 U.S.C. § 1746, and subject to the penalties of 18 U.S.C. § 1001 and 22 U.S.C. § 618, the undersigned swears or affirms under penalty of perjury that he/she has read the information set forth in this statement filed pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, 22 U.S.C. § 611 *et seq.*, that he/she is familiar with the contents thereof, and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his/her knowledge and belief.

Date

Printed Name

Signature

06/06/2022Christina Pushaw/s/Christina Pushaw

EXECUTION

In accordance with 28 U.S.C. § 1746, and subject to the penalties of 18 U.S.C. § 1001 and 22 U.S.C. § 618, the undersigned swears or affirms under penalty of perjury that he/she has read the information set forth in this statement filed pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, 22 U.S.C. § 611 *et seq.*, that he/she is familiar with the contents thereof, and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his/her knowledge and belief.

Date

Printed Name

Signature

6/6/2022

Christina Pushaw

DocuSigned by:

Christina Pushaw

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Appendix

Response to Item 10(a)

Mikheil Saakashvili is currently the chairman of the National Reform Council of Ukraine. Saakashvili served as President of Georgia from 2004-2013. He left Georgia in 2013 and became a citizen of Ukraine shortly thereafter. Saakashvili is no longer a Georgian citizen but has remained an influential figure in Georgian politics. He is associated with the largest Georgian opposition political party, United National Movement (UNM). UNM was the leading party in the United Opposition, a coalition that challenged the ruling party in the presidential election of 2018 and the parliamentary election of 2020.

Saakashvili is currently incarcerated as a political prisoner in Georgia.

Appendix

Response to Item 11

Item 11: Explain fully all items answered "Yes" in Item 10(b).

Item 10(b) Supervised: From 1/2018 - 5/2019, Mikheil Saakashvili was a stateless person (political dissident) and was not supervised by any foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal. From 5/2019-5/2020, Mikheil Saakashvili was a citizen of Ukraine but was not supervised by any foreign government, foreign political party, or other foreign principal. 5/2020-current: Mikheil Saakashvili was appointed as Chair of the Executive Committee of the National Reform Council in Ukraine. This is a Ukrainian government entity, working under the supervision of the President of Ukraine.

My work for Mikheil Saakashvili was strictly related to increasing his international profile in an effort for him to re-enter Georgian politics at some future date.

U.S. Department of Justice

Washington, DC 20530

Exhibit B to Registration Statement**Pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended**

INSTRUCTIONS. A registrant must furnish as an Exhibit B copies of each written agreement and the terms and conditions of each oral agreement with his foreign principal, including all modifications of such agreements, or, where no contract exists, a full statement of all the circumstances by reason of which the registrant is acting as an agent of a foreign principal. Compliance is accomplished by filing an electronic Exhibit B form at <https://www.fara.gov>.

Privacy Act Statement. The filing of this document is required for the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, 22 U.S.C. § 611 *et seq.*, for the purposes of registration under the Act and public disclosure. Provision of the information requested is mandatory, and failure to provide the information is subject to the penalty and enforcement provisions established in Section 8 of the Act. Every registration statement, short form registration statement, supplemental statement, exhibit, amendment, copy of informational materials or other document or information filed with the Attorney General under this Act is a public record open to public examination, inspection and copying during the posted business hours of the FARA Unit in Washington, DC. Statements are also available online at the FARA Unit's webpage: <https://www.fara.gov>. One copy of every such document, other than informational materials, is automatically provided to the Secretary of State pursuant to Section 6(b) of the Act, and copies of any and all documents are routinely made available to other agencies, departments and Congress pursuant to Section 6(c) of the Act. The Attorney General also transmits a semi-annual report to Congress on the administration of the Act which lists the names of all agents registered under the Act and the foreign principals they represent. This report is available to the public in print and online at: <https://www.fara.gov>.

Public Reporting Burden. Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average .32 hours per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden to Chief, FARA Unit, Counterintelligence and Export Control Section, National Security Division, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, DC 20530; and to the Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs, Office of Management and Budget, Washington, DC 20503.

1. Name of Registrant
Ms. Christina Pushaw

2. Registration Number
7122

3. Name of Foreign Principal
Mr. Mikheil Saakashvili

Check Appropriate Box:

4. ☐ The agreement between the registrant and the above-named foreign principal is a formal written contract. If this box is checked, attach a copy of the contract to this exhibit.
5. ☐ There is no formal written contract between the registrant and the foreign principal. The agreement with the above-named foreign principal has resulted from an exchange of correspondence. If this box is checked, attach a copy of all pertinent correspondence, including a copy of any initial proposal which has been adopted by reference in such correspondence.
6. ☒ The agreement or understanding between the registrant and the foreign principal is the result of neither a formal written contract nor an exchange of correspondence between the parties. If this box is checked, give a complete description below of the terms and conditions of the oral agreement or understanding, its duration, the fees and expenses, if any, to be received.
7. What is the date of the contract or agreement with the foreign principal? 10/27/2018
8. Describe fully the nature and method of performance of the above indicated agreement or understanding.

See Appendix for Response

9. Describe fully the activities the registrant engages in or proposes to engage in on behalf of the above foreign principal.

I advised Mikheil Saakashvili on international communications and media, including assistance with television appearances, op/eds, and outreach to policymakers. I worked under the supervision of Saakashvili during this period. As stated previously, my work for Saakashvili consisted of monitoring the Georgian political environment for him and assisting in his international profile.

My activities on behalf of Saakashvili occurred between 1/2018 - 11/2020. By 12/2020, all of my activities and efforts on behalf of Saakashvili terminated and have not continued to the date of this filing.

10. Will the activities on behalf of the above foreign principal include political activities as defined in Section 1(o) of the Act¹.

Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, describe all such political activities indicating, among other things, the relations, interests or policies to be influenced together with the means to be employed to achieve this purpose. The response must include, but not be limited to, activities involving lobbying, promotion, perception management, public relations, economic development, and preparation and dissemination of informational materials.

See Appendix for Response

11. Prior to the date of registration² for this foreign principal has the registrant engaged in any registrable activities, such as political activities, for this foreign principal?

Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, describe in full detail all such activities. The response should include, among other things, the relations, interests, and policies sought to be influenced and the means employed to achieve this purpose. If the registrant arranged, sponsored, or delivered speeches, lectures, social media, internet postings, or media broadcasts, give details as to dates, places of delivery, names of speakers, and subject matter. The response must also include, but not be limited to, activities involving lobbying, promotion, perception management, public relations, economic development, and preparation and dissemination of informational materials.

Set forth below a general description of the registrant's activities, including political activities.

See Appendix for Response

Set forth below in the required detail the registrant's political activities.

Date	Contact	Method	Purpose
No Political Activity Contacts to Report			

12. During the period beginning 60 days prior to the obligation to register³ for this foreign principal, has the registrant received from the foreign principal, or from any other source, for or in the interests of the foreign principal, any contributions, income, money, or thing of value either as compensation, or for disbursement, or otherwise?

Yes ☒ No ☐

If yes, set forth below in the required detail an account of such monies or things of value.

Date Received	From Whom	Purpose	Amount/Thing of Value
10/28/2018	Mikheil Saakashvili	compensation/ living expenses	\$ 10,000.00
08/30/2020	Mikheil Saakashvili	compensation/ living expenses	\$ 10,000.00
10/31/2020	Mikheil Saakashvili	compensation/ living expenses	\$ 5,000.00
			\$ 25,000.00
			Total

13. During the period beginning 60 days prior to the obligation to register⁴ for this foreign principal, has the registrant disbursed or expended monies in connection with activity on behalf of the foreign principal or transmitted monies to the foreign principal?

Yes ☐ No ☒

If yes, set forth below in the required detail and separately an account of such monies, including monies transmitted, if any.

Date	Recipient	Purpose	Amount
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¹ "Political activity," as defined in Section 1(o) of the Act, means any activity which the person engaging in believes will, or that the person intends to, in any way influence any agency or official of the Government of the United States or any section of the public within the United States with reference to formulating, adopting, or changing the domestic or foreign policies of the United States or with reference to the political or public interests, policies, or relations of a government of a foreign country or a foreign political party.

^{2,3,4} Pursuant to Section 2(a) of the Act, an agent must register within ten days of becoming an agent, and before acting as such.

EXECUTION

In accordance with 28 U.S.C. § 1746, and subject to the penalties of 18 U.S.C. § 1001 and 22 U.S.C. § 618, the undersigned swears or affirms under penalty of perjury that he/she has read the information set forth in this statement filed pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, 22 U.S.C. § 611 *et seq.*, that he/she is familiar with the contents thereof, and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his/her knowledge and belief.

Date

Printed Name

Signature

06/06/2022Christina Pushaw/s/Christina Pushaw

EXECUTION

In accordance with 28 U.S.C. § 1746, and subject to the penalties of 18 U.S.C. § 1001 and 22 U.S.C. § 618, the undersigned swears or affirms under penalty of perjury that he/she has read the information set forth in this statement filed pursuant to the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, 22 U.S.C. § 611 *et seq.*, that he/she is familiar with the contents thereof, and that such contents are in their entirety true and accurate to the best of his/her knowledge and belief.

Date

Printed Name

Signature

6/6/2022

Christina Pushaw

DocuSigned by:

Christina Pushaw

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Appendix

Response to Item 8

Item 8: Describe fully the nature and method of performance of the above indicated agreement or understanding.

My working arrangement was unwritten and informal and consisted of the following:

From January 2018-October 2018, I assisted Mikheil Saakashvili on a sporadic and voluntary basis with publicity advice (e.g., TV booking, advising on op-eds).

I received \$10,000 in cash from Mikheil Saakashvili in late October 2018. I resided in Tbilisi, Georgia for about 6 weeks from October-December 2018 to consult Saakashvili on the status and progress of the United Opposition presidential campaign. During that time, I stayed rent-free in an apartment in Tbilisi owned by an associate of Saakashvili.

From January 2019-July 2020, I assisted Saakashvili with publicity on an ad hoc, voluntary basis. From August 2019-July 2020, I lived in Georgia and primarily worked on my non-governmental organization, which was nonpartisan and focused on Georgian civil society and politics, with no presence in the United States.

From August 2020-November 2020, I received \$15,000 for work I undertook during that period of time for for Saakashvili - this work consisted of monitoring the political environment and advocating internationally on his behalf. I received \$15,000 USD for work on his behalf and lived in Georgia during this time and used the monies received for living expenses. Other than the above mentioned compensation, I did not receive anything of value in exchange for my work.

All of my work and efforts on behalf of Saakashvili terminated in final by December 2020.

Appendix

Response to Item 10

Item 10: Will the activities on behalf of the above foreign principal include political activities as defined in Section 1(o) of the Act. If yes, describe all such political activities indicating, among other things, the relations, interests or policies to be influenced together with the means to be employed to achieve this purpose. The response must include, but not be limited to, activities involving lobbying, promotion, perception management, public relations, economic development, and preparation and dissemination of informational materials.

During this relevant period of time, I assisted Mikheil Saakashvili with outreach to Georgian, E.U, and other international media, experts, and policymakers, including U.S. persons and entities.

My work for Saakashvili included perception management, public relations, and preparation and dissemination of informational materials to an international audience, including U.S. persons and entities.

In consultation with Saakashvili, I drafted a number of memos to update the above mentioned persons and entities on the Georgian political situation before, during, and immediately after the 2018 and 2020 elections, when I was working in Georgia on behalf of Saakashvili.

In consultation with Saakashvili, I drafted op/eds and placed them in various English-language publications, including U.S. publications.

For all of the materials cited above please see PDF Exhibit 1.

Appendix

Response to Item 11-Description

During this relevant period of time, I assisted Mikheil Saakashvili with outreach to Georgian, E.U, and other international media, experts, and policymakers, including U.S. persons and entities.

In consultation with Saakashvili, and at his direction, I drafted a number of memos to update the above mentioned persons and entities on the Georgian political situation before, during, and immediately after the 2018 and 2020 elections, when I was working in Georgia.

In consultation with Saakashvili, I drafted op/eds and placed them in various English-language publications, including U.S. publications.

For all of the materials cited above, please see the attached PDF, Exhibit 1.